

173 to be on the field of battle himself and for five years was unable
 644 to vanquish his enemy who was entrenched on a mountain and
 357 well supported by the local inhabitants,

After Warga had tried every means at his command to conquer his enemy, he hacked down the crops, which were almost ripe, and captured all the livestock that ventured down the mountain. In short, he devastated the country.

This succeeded so well that at last the local inhabitants, faced with famine, had to choose between the life of the chief they were sheltering and their own lives. Mamzi was therefore handed over and imprisoned at Saponé (1).

1. The principal canton town in the district of Ouagadougou.

During the five years of this difficult campaign, Naba Warga, aside from the warriors, had only a young boy to serve him since his wives were not present. The boy served as cook [160] and personal servant. In short, he performed the duties of a wife so well that Warga decided that he was worthy of some notice and decided to reward him.

When he had returned to his lands, he freed this faithful servitor after first giving him a wife. Then it occurred to him that several children in his court could perform the same services. He therefore ordered them to be recruited on a large scale, and these were the sogoné.

357 Every boy recruited to become a sogoné can expect to be given
 644 a wife, however little she may be worth, when he is freed.

554 The sogoné have the same standing as the napagba and they
 304 wear the same ornaments. A group of bracelets worn on the wrists, in fact, distinguish the napagba and the sogoné from free women.

It is their duty to serve the naba. They form a half circle around the naba when he appears; they accompany him on his short outings; and they carry the scepter and all of the insignia of chiefdom. They serve drinks to the naba, fan him when he takes a nap with fans called fika, make his bed, and do various errands. Likewise a naba never sends anyone but a sogoné to take a message to his wives.

[i.e. royal wives - Analyst]

304 wound with warm water which often is not scrupulously clean
 752 since the gourd in which it is kept is not always washed. The
 [278] wound is dusted with a charred substance (made by burning the
 bark or leaves of the baguem-baga plant) mixed with karite butter.
 It is bandaged with a leaf from the kantonga bush, tied on with a
 bit of thread. Once the wound has begun to heal, it is wrapped
 in cotton strips. The water used to wash the wound is thrown
 into a hole that is covered with a stone.

304 Special language of the kéogo. In order to prevent the Moaga
 198 (here meaning an uncircumcised person) from understanding what
 is said within the kéogo or between the boys and the guards, a
 special language has been developed. Some of its words are as
 follows:

Water (kom in ordinary Mossi language), hargo;

Millet cake (saghbo in Mossi), lâbo;

Sauce (zindo in Mossi), kirou;

Fire (bougoum in Mossi), nionom;

Beer (dam in Mossi), sonnom;

A robe or blanket (fougou in Mossi), pilli;

Mat (pinri in Mossi), wanghé. [268]

304 Distinctive attire of the circumcised boys (bankoanga). His
 292 costume, wallimba or zougba, consists of a fringed loincloth with
 pockets. He carries a rough stick (zâbré) with which he hunts
 rabbits and other small game.

304 He accompanies his evening dance with an instrument called
 293 wassimba, a curved stick on the end of which are strung four or
 five pieces of gourd, roughly circular in shape, with holes bored
 through them.

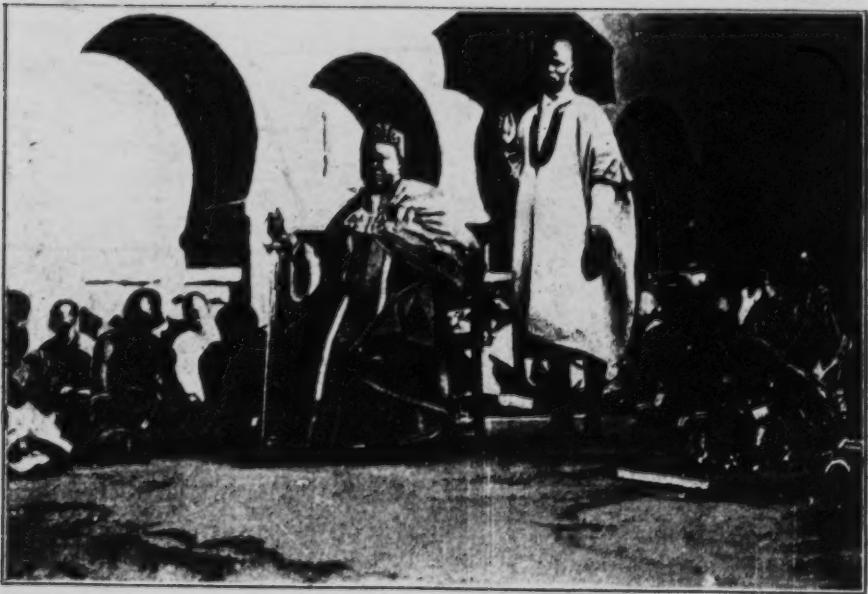
304 Tom-toms. The bankoensé (newly circumcised boys) dance
 534 to the beat of two drums like those used in the warba and waongo
 535 (see the chapter on native dances). The drums are called
gangango when they accompany other dances, but here they are
 called gallyans.

304 Prohibitions in the kéogo. A Moaga (1) is strictly forbidden

1. "Moaga" is used here in a pejorative sense and means an uncircumcised man.

1: Delobson--149 I-5 (no date) 1933 FA28 Mossi FA28

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A Canton Chief (Doulougou Naba) and his
Servitor.

From the Mission of the White
Fathers at Ouagadougou.

2: Mangin--49a

M-5 (ca. 1910) 1921

FA28 Mossi FA28

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[301]



Tattooed Mossi Youth.



Tattooed Mossi Women.

304 day the one in charge of the circumcision, a wealthy Yarga or Mossi
563 who has the means to feed several of the people to be circumcised,
852 chooses a tree to serve as shelter for the operation. Rain need not be
taken into account, for circumcision is always performed during the
dry season from December to April, when agricultural work is at a
[778] standstill. The tree is surrounded with straw mats, forming the teoo
or sacred enclosure which no one who is not circumcised may come
near without running the risk of being insulted and often beaten; if he
should dare to step inside it, he would be stricken by the greatest
misfortunes. The Peul sets out a flat stone, sacrifices a chicken in
order to make the spirit of the tree benevolent toward those to be
circumcised, and operates on the boys one by one. Drums are played
throughout the operation to drown the cries of the victims.

852 For three days afterwards the newly circumcised boys do nothing.
They rest and tend their wounds. They remain isolated from the rest
[535] of the community for two or three months, sometimes even longer.
Judging by the dances which close the festivities, dancing must be
their primary concern during that period of time. They also thresh
the millet of those who invite them to do so, but no uncircumcised
person may join them, no uninitiated individual may come near them.
[198] They do not speak the Mossi language at this time, but a special
tongue of which they learn enough to serve them in their everyday
needs. Woe to those who forget and use their native tongue; they are
[551] beaten with switches made of a kind of willow. Even their names
are changed, and no one may call them by their Mossi names.

The circumcised boys are divided in two groups, one "male" and
one "female." One of the groups bears the name of the hyena (kwara
in their language) and the other is called masalro, whose French
equivalent we do not know. The hyena group must strain their wits to
snatch food, even from the other circumcised boys, who are kept con-
stantly on the alert. The other group makes improper gestures during
the dance.

852 The circumcised boys are covered with gray dust to alter their
293 appearance completely. A tail is fastened to the back of their breech-
776 cloth, hanging to the ground. It is made of plaited cotton thread and
481 ends in a pompon. Its function is to drive off the kikirsi spirits, who
apparently do not like circumcised persons. The boys walk bent over
and leaning on sticks like old men. This is done to test their obedi-
ence and to see if they listen carefully to what they are told.

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294 CLOTHING MANUFACTURE--techniques of manufacture (e.g., cutting, fitting, sewing); special treatment of particular materials and products (e.g., shoe-making, hat manufacture); decoration (e.g., embroidery); use of special implements and apparatus (e.g., sewing machines); specialization (e.g., dress-makers, tailors, cobblers, hatters); etc. See also:

Leather and textile industries	29	Household sewing machines	404
Factory buildings	348	Decorative art	531

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435 (d) Zag'banko: a colored garment, varying in price between 40,000 and 50,000 cowries.

(e) Baourou ganga: a light gray blanket, valued [224] at 50,000 to 60,000 cowries, which can easily be made into robes and trousers.

[439] All these garments were imported by traveling Haoussa (Zangoëto) and a few Yarcé, the only traders at the time, who bought them in Gambaga (Gold Coast), the only known trading center at that time. As we have pointed out in an earlier chapter, the Mossi knew of no country other than their own.

There were, of course, some naba who wore only rough garments made of cotton strips woven locally.

Headgear. The inhabitants of Béré (a village of the province now ruled by the Gounga Naba) used to make caps, called manfo, which were highly prized by Mossi chiefs (priced at 2,000 to 3,000 cowries).

Some notables wore caps made at Wéogtinga (province of the Ouidi Naba) by the descendants of Naba Zombré, the twentieth successor of Oubri.

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177 2. Modifications and improvements introduced since the establishment of the government of Upper Volta (1919). The various fabrics available in the European outlets and the fine white or blue bazin [fabric] are more and more being used to replace the clothing of former times. [225] These fabrics are made into robes, trousers, blouses, and forkia (this last is a kind of long blouse with wide sleeves, much prized by Senegalese traders). Shirts of every conceivable color and style are hoarded [352] in trunks and chests bought at the commissary or made locally by carpenters trained in European shops.

Many chiefs claim that garments made of cotton strips are heavy and cumbersome and impede walking.

[439] Oriental caps imported from the Gold Coast, dark red velvet hats, and even sun helmets are replacing the headgear of old.

The markatassé and mougou, rustic leather boots made by Mossi shoemakers are giving way to shoes, puttees, and leggings, or to new types of boots and slippers -- the shoemakers of Djenné [494] are now well known among the Mossi.

286 not equally skillful, but some of them know how to weave cloth which is fine, tightly woven, and quite strong. Sewn together and cut according to unchanging patterns, these strips are made into breechcloths, trousers, wide shirts, full robes which cover the whole body, and especially men's and women's blankets, white or dark blue, which are an indispensable protection against the cold and which are worn wrapped around the body. Mossi fabrics are quite well-known in neighboring territories, and as we shall see they are an important trade item.

386 It is customary to dye the garments after they are made or the thread before it is woven. The dyer's trade is quite widespread in Mossi country, and there is no important /56/ village without dyers. They get together to dig their wells in the same spot; often choosing a small hillock for the purpose where they sink about ten wells, two or three meters deep, the inner surface baked with a charcoal fire. The dyeing solutions are poured into these wells, and the clothes or thread to be dyed are immersed in the liquid and stirred with sticks that have at the end pieces of wood set in the shape of a cross. Fabrics are left soaking for varying periods of time depending on their bulk, and then they are spread out in the sun to dry. The colors obtained vary from a very dark blue, nearly black, to light blue. Certain clothes are dyed sienna, a color favored by hunters because it is dark. Several washings are needed to remove the strong odor which permeates cloth dyed in this fashion, but each washing removes part of the dye.

285 Everyone knows how to weave, and almost everyone knows how to make basketry. When the grass is full grown, the children have fun making straw hats, some of which are not badly done; others make containers in various patterns by mixing yellow and black straws, and red ones dyed with the leaves of a variety of millet, cultivated in order to obtain the red shade desired for coloring leather; yet others plait simple trays of straw which are used to cover the gourds or to carry meat.

294 Those who are skillful make sturdy hats adorned with leather figures, and this becomes a veritable industry. There are two main kinds of hats: those shaped like pointed cones, and the bell-shaped hats with a wide brim. They are so ample that they can easily be worn over a cap which is sometimes wrapped in a strip of soft fabric. A leather strap with a sliding knot holds the hat in place or permits it to hang down one's back with the cord holding it at the neck. Saponé is the manufacturing center for hats.

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285 The art of basketry, however, is exercised primarily to produce woven containers. These serve many purposes and come in all shapes and sizes from large wicker containers used to protect chicks against birds of prey and small wicker baskets for collecting refuse to baskets of plaited grass for carrying millet, rice, and most other goods. Some baskets are made with greater care, decorated with designs made by mixing dyed grasses and thin leather strips and edged with cowries.

[462] Only the men do basketry, and only they work with leather; some of them make leather objects which are almost artistic and very well
281 own. Unfortunately the natives do not know how to tan skins properly, and their leather has no strength. The hide is simply stretched out and dried by the sun; sometimes it is briefly immersed in water containing tamarind bark. The hair is removed by pouring hot water onto the skin and then scraping it off with a knife. To make it softer, the skin is moved back and forth over a stake planted in the ground and slightly sharpened at the tip, or it is simply crumpled /57/ between the hands. When it has been softened, it is stretched once more to dry in the sun, held with small wooden pegs driven into the
[386] ground. It may be dyed red, green, or black with special herbs.

Some men make knife or saber sheaths; others specialize in the long gaiters which are tied to the belt and worn by every horseman in full regalia; still others make saddle rugs stuffed with kapok or cotton and decorated with designs. They also make the various parts of the harness: the leather strip which runs across the horse's chest, and the large rug which covers its rump. Leather is also used to make all kinds
294 of footgear, from the mere piece of hide held to the feet by leather
281 strips running between the big and second toes and all round the foot, to the Turkish-type slipper and the ornamented boots with spurs attached which are a natural complement to the long gaiters. Some of the shoemakers are truly skillful and could make quite satisfactory shoes if they had lasts and especially if they had better leather.

281 Hide is also used in the manufacture of belts adorned with cowries, pouches, amulets, bags which are sometimes nicely adorned, etc. The designs are usually made as follows: small leather strips of various colors are sewn onto a skin of solid color which serves as a base; more rarely, as in Morocco, the top layer of skin is removed.

462 The above-mentioned industries are performed exclusively by men, and any male individual may practice them. The preparation of gun powder and tobacco is also male work. The industries listed below,

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435 5. Straw dishes made with doudouma (yellow), doudoumidou (red), and doudousabalé (shiny grey). They are worth 300 cowries.

6. Dishes made of gansacé straw (yellow) and doudoumidou straw (red) worth 250 cowries.

7. Dishes made of gansacé and sepsu straw (sepsu is dyed red with mono). The larger ones are worth 350 cowries, the smaller ones 250.

There are no basket makers at Ouagadougou proper, but there are many people in neighboring villages who work at this trade.

The basket maker's only tool is the lépéré-pime, a thick iron needle hooked at the head and adorned with small stripes, /527/ which serves to stitch the straw used for baskets and trays. The lépéré-pime is made by the blacksmith, and it is worth 50 cowries.

Gansacé is also used in the manufacture of bracelets, cords, and lids.

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294 The maker of straw hats must be included with the basket maker. Both trades belong together.

To present one of them, here is Tenda Ouidiraogo, a Mossi. He tills the soil during the rainy season, and he makes straw hats during the dry season.

Hats are made with kansé, a gramineous plant that grows along watercourses and ponds.

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294 This grass is made into string. First it is placed in water to be softened, and then it is sectioned into two sprigs which are also immersed in water. They are rubbed and twisted by hand upon the thigh. The two sprigs coil together and make string that is fairly strong, although breakable by hand.

First, enough of this string is prepared for the manufacture of a hat.

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294 The hat makers have a sort of block called dogoma, made of a tripod stick with a vertical stem. They use it to make their hats, which are the ordinary pointed straw hats common to all of West Africa, and which are found in the Sudan as well as in Guinea. These hats come way down on the back of the neck and make their wearers look like Calabrian bandits. It must be said, however, that among the Mossi there is another type of straw hat, which is swollen, rounded, and partly covered with leather patches. It is

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294 closer to our European hats and vaguely recalls a very fat and swollen straw bowler with wide rims.

In order to make the former kind, our hat maker begins by bringing together a hundred strings. He ties them at one end, an end left in its original straw state, and thus fashions the tip of the hat. Then he interlaces these strings by hand with bits of unmodified kansé straw. The strings hang vertically, the straw pieces are interlaced horizontally, and this makes up the web of the hat.

[386] /528/ The bits of kansé are often dyed black beforehand by immersion in the mud of a watercourse. This is how black lines and designs are obtained in certain parts of the hat.

[435] Six days are needed to make a hat. It is sold for 1,000 cowries, of course without the ornaments, straps, and strips of leather that will be added by the shoemaker.

Hat makers fashion these hats in advance and have their wives sell them at market.

248 Bérenga or hemp (also called tamora among the Mossi) goes into the manufacture of straw hats as well. We saw above, when discussing cultivation, how bérenga is grown. It is sown either among maize or among large red millet, that is to say around the soukala, or even in fields in the bush among small millet or large white millet. If sown among maize, it is sown three days afterwards; if among large red millet, four days later; if among large white millet, ten days later; and if among small millet, ten or twelve days afterward.

Bérenga is harvested ten or twenty days after maize, if it stands in a maize field. If it has been sown among millet, it is harvested seven days afterwards. Bérenga stalks are severed at the base, and the fibrous bark is removed and dried. Bérenga is green when fresh and reddish brown when dry. It is usually made into strings and cords. It is also used for the thatch roofing of huts. When it is to go into the making of a hat, it is dyed black by immersion in bérédo and used along with kansé to furnish the black lines of the hats.

Here are some sample products of the Mossi hat-making industry:

1. Pointed straw hats made of kansé (yellow) and bérenga (black). They sport leather ornaments and straps added by the [435] shoemaker. They are worth 2,500 cowries.

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435 2. Similar but smaller hats, worth from 1,000 to 1,500 cowries.

/529/ 3. Round straw hats with wide brims, mentioned above. These are worth 1,700 cowries.

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241 All the leather parts on those hats are added by the shoemaker. We have already mentioned that our hat makers are not exclusively manufacturers, that they also till the soil. It must be added that the latter activity nets them more than their trade. The man I mentioned cultivates a field of small millet and one of large red millet in the bush. He also grows maize, peanuts, and underground peas around his soukala. He owns neither large nor small livestock, but only chickens.

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592 In his soukala he has two wives, four children, two married brothers who have one wife apiece but no children, and two unmarried brothers, as well as a father. They all make hats.

He lives at Saponé, where there are many hat manufacturers.

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[564] After straw work, let us mention leatherwork.

Mossi shoemakers do not form a caste. Anyone who wants to may marry among them, and anyone who wishes to do so may exercise their trade.

[592] As an example, here is Kinoga Kologo, a Mossi, and the head of a soukala. He lives with two wives, two children, and an unmarried brother. His soukala consists of three huts.

His tools are as follows:

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413 1. The pongo, a kind of broad little knife with a flaring blade hafted to a very short handle. It is used to cut hide.

2. The gansiouba, a wooden knife used to scrape and rub hides, clean them and smooth them.

3. The désara, a small tool with a wooden handle and a curved iron stem. It is used red hot to trace designs on hides.

4. The pime, a small awl used to sew hides.

5. The large tirisiga. This is an iron seal used to imprint hides with small circles.

6. The small tirisiga. This is a smaller seal, /530/ an iron rod whose tip makes a very tiny seal.

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435 As among nearly all Blacks, the Mossi shoemaker is his own tanner. He buys sheepskins and goatskins at market (small ones

282 sell for 200 cowries, large ones for 400). He leaves them to soak
 • 294 in a large canari with yogré seeds for twelve hours. Then he re-
 435 moves the hair by hand, washes the skin thoroughly, and places
 it again in a canari with seeds of pélanaga (a tree that grows in the
 bush). He washes and rubs the hide with these seeds. Then he
 leaves it to dry in the sun after covering it with butter, real butter
 rather than karité butter. The skin may then be used to make vari-
 ous items.

Kinoga also buys cowhide at market to make sandals. One cow-
 hide is worth 3,000 cowries. He puts it in a large canari where he
 leaves it soaking for three days, then he takes it out, removes the
 hair with a knife, and strikes the skin with a small stick to soften it.
 Whatever amount of leather is needed to make sandals is then re-
 moved from the hide, which is used up gradually as the need arises.

The shoemaker's tools are made by the blacksmith. These tools
 are worth 100 cowries apiece, except for the awl that is worth 20 and
 the wooden knife that is made by the shoemaker himself and worth
 50. All of the shoemaker's tools taken together are thus worth 470
 cowries, or only 50 centimes.

Our shoemaker makes the following items:

1. Sandals, first and foremost. The most expensive ones are
 worth 2,500 cowries a pair, the less expensive ones 1,500 cowries.
2. Leather grigri, bracelets, pouches, etc. The pouches are
 worth 100 cowries, the bracelets 50. He only makes them on order.
 It must be said that other shoemakers stock them up beforehand and
 have them taken to market.

Of course, what the shoemaker prepares is the physical part of
 the grigri, its outer covering. It is not he who gives the grigri its
 power, its soul.

3. Kinoga does not make satchels, goatskin bags, but other
 shoemakers do.

[415] /531/ There are goatskins used to store millet. Large ones are
 worth 1 franc and small ones 0.50 franc. Then, there are goatskins
 used to hold water. They are worth from 0.30 to 1 franc. Finally,
 there are small goatskins used as purses or coin bags and worth 0.20
 franc.

- [372] 4. Shoemakers also make leather cases for strike-a-light steel
 [326] (200 cowries) and for needles (50 cowries). Both strike-a-light steel
 and needles are made by blacksmiths.

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435 and needles are made by blacksmiths. A strike-a-light steel is worth 200 cowries.

5. They make sheaths for knives and swords. Knife sheaths are worth 200 cowries, sword sheaths 3,000.

6. Bridles and saddles. Saddles are worth 3,000 cowries, bridles 5,000.

Shoemakers also work with deerskin and leopardskin. They adorn Mossi truncheons or clubs with leopardskin. They also adorn spears with it. The leopardskin is provided by the customer. The shoemaker does not purchase it directly.

Leopardskin is sold at market in small pieces worth 100 cowries. A large leopardskin is worth 10 francs, a small one 7 francs.

Crocodile skin is also used by shoemakers. People who have killed a crocodile go and sell its skin at market, or else someone purchases the skin from the hunter and retails it at market. The skin of a small crocodile (hardly any but these are to be found in Mossi territory, owing to the scarcity of water) is worth 1,000 cowries. People who wish the shoemaker to work one of these skins purchase it at market and take it to him.

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294 There are no hippopotamus skins in Mossi territory, because water is scarce and watercourses are small. As for elephant skin, it is too tough to be worked and remains unused.

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241 The shoemaker I am describing exercises his trade only during the dry season. During the rainy season he tills the soil, and this nets him more than his trade. /532/ The same thing applies, incidentally, to all Mossi shoemakers. During the winter season, our man cultivates a field of small millet and one of large red millet, a small rice field, and a little maize around his soukala. He plants beans in his two millet fields. He owns neither large nor small livestock, not even a chicken or a dog.

There are no makers of headcrests among the Mossi, and the Boussourma chief I questioned about it told me there never were any.

286 Let us now proceed to the cotton industry, and study in turn the weaver's, tailor's and dyer's trades.

The Mossi weaver (soulouga) is a weaver-cultivator. He tills the soil during the rainy season and exercises his trade during the dry season. In fact he is primarily a cultivator, for cultivation rather than weaving comes first and foremost to him.

286 There may be five weaver-cultivators in a small village, or fifteen in a large one.

286 Customers bring the weaver the cotton thread spun by their
283 wives, for spinning is a family affair. The women spread out the tufts of raw cotton on a small board and extract the seeds by pressing upon them. Then they spin small quantities of cotton between their fingers and thus make it into threads which they coil around a twig. The threads are handed to the weaver in this form.

286 The weaver uncoils the threads and sets them on his loom, which is very primitive. It is the same one used throughout West Africa, and it is called niri in Mossi. The cotton strips are usually from 8 to 10 centimeters wide. Their length, which is quite variable, may reach 50 meters. The weaver makes his loom himself.

Let us present an Ouagadougou weaver, Beïdou Ninkéma, the head of a soukala. He has two wives and no children. He tills the soil during the rainy season and weaves during the dry season. His fields net him more than his trade, because the Yarsé also work at the weaver's trade, and since they are more skillful at it than the Mossi their competition is formidable. /533/ The customers bring him thread, and he makes it into cotton strips. He is paid 500

[435] cowries to make the strips needed for a skirt. Sixty strips are needed to make one skirt.

● [294] Our weaver is also a tailor, but only on occasion, and incidentally a tailor of the lowest order for he can only make skirts and cloaks.

[435] He cannot make trousers. He makes a cloak for 0.50 franc, a skirt for 0.20 franc, with the fabric supplied, of course.

286 Let us add that child-weavers are also to be found among the
257 Mossi. They make pétala.
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"Pétala," says the Cahier des Rapports of the circle /of Ouagadougou/, "are small, very narrow strips, from 10 to 25 millimeters wide, made of multicolored threads, yellow, red, blue, green, etc., dyed in the territory and woven by children on simplified looms.

"Those strips, which are very strong, are used as trouser belts.

[435] "Pétala is worth a little under 0.10 franc a meter, and its sale nets a small profit to the children who make it and who sell it themselves on Mossi markets.

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"This kind of braiding is not exported."

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There are tailors as well as weavers among the Mossi. The tailor's trade, incidentally, is exercised in Mossi lands not only by the Mossi but also by the Yarsé and by some of the Haoussa who are settled in the territory.

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Mossi tailors till the soil during the winter season and work as tailors during the dry season. Their fields net them more than their trade.

Most Mossi tailors do custom work. Cotton strips are brought to them, and they sew them into the required garment. Others purchase cotton strips, make them into various garments (skirts, cloaks, trousers, caps) and have their wives sell them at market. Those, however, are in the minority.

A cloak is called fougou in Mossi, a skirt fougoupoko from poko, "woman" and fougou, "cloak." Trousers are called koulouga.

/534/ Let us add that garment manufacture has remained a family industry in much of Mossi territory. Many Mossi can sew, and they make their own clothes by sewing up cotton strips. Let [462] us note here that as in nearly all of West Africa, it is the men who sew rather than the women. In this area of Africa, indeed, sewing is essentially a male occupation rather than a female one.

Now to present a Ouagadougou tailor, Mohammadi Bagaré.

He tills the soil and does nothing else during the winter season. He exercises his tailor's trade during the dry season.

He does custom work. Those who want a garment bring him cotton strips in sufficient numbers, and he makes the requested garment. He asks 1,000 cowries to make a large cloak, 500 for a small one, 200 for a skirt. To make a cap he asks only for one kola nut, which is worth 50 cowries at Ouagadougou. He takes 200 cowries for a pair of trousers. [435]

It takes him five days' work to make a large cloak, two days for a small one, one day for a skirt, two days for a pair of trousers, one hour for a cap.

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His only working tool is the needle. Mohammadi uses European needles.

596 In the sense of integration, we must mention primarily the families
 592 of great chiefs. For example, there is the family of Gombiraogo, a
 182 former Baloum Naba, a very wealthy and important personage. He
 591 has five brothers. Two of them live together in the village of Kalo
 and another two, similarly, in the village of Bembéla. Gombiraogo
 lives in Ouahigouya with the fifth brother. With this brother he has three
zaka where 70 or 80 people live, all of whom work for him and form
 a single work group under his direction (that is to say, during the rainy
 season they work for him two days out of three, and during the dry
 season they do so only when he has exceptional need of them; in re-
 turn, he provides them with food seven months out of twelve, accord-
 ing to custom, and does not provide them with clothes unless they
 are unmarried).

What should be noted here is the strength of this work group (70
 to 80 people). As a result, it includes several compounds, while it
 is the compound as a rule that contains several or at least two work
 groups.

[45] The present Baloum Naba, the prime minister, likewise has two
zaka working for him. Moreover, the total family of the Baloum
 Naba is not assembled in Ouahigouya but scattered throughout Yatenga.

[43] In the same connection, the Rassam Naba has a zaka of 157
 people who form a single work group under his direction. In return,
 he provides them with food all year.

194 /232/ Again, there is a zaka of shoemakers at Ouahigouya which
 592 includes nearly 100 people altogether, among them 15 or 20 full-
 182 grown men, all of them shoemakers. They all work for the zakasoba,
 who provides them all with food. This zaka, of exceptional
 numerical strength, is at the same time completely integrated.

596 At the other end of the scale, we find the Mossi family of Yatenga
 182 evolving toward complete disintegration in certain parts of the terri-
 592 tory, that is to say, evolving toward a state of affairs where nothing
 remains except the total family on the one hand and the single
 household on the other (that is, the compound has only a single
 household).

Thus, in the course of a journey through the canton of Ratenga,
 I noted in the village of Tangué a family of 110 persons distributed
 among 14 homes. This gives an average of only seven or eight per-
 sons per home. In Kargo (another village) there are five Mossi fami-
 lies for 22 homes sheltering 181 persons, or only eight persons per
 home.